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| RESEARCH ARTICLE

Verb-Stranding VP Ellipsis in Najdi Arabic

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| ABSTRACT
The main goal of this paper is to establish that Najdi Arabic (NA, henceforth) has the property of verb-stranding VP ellipsis. This claim is cross linguistically contingent on V-to-T movement. Four diagnostics of verb-stranding VP ellipsis have also been examined in NA: licensing of inflectional head, islands insensitivity, sloppy identity interpretation, and antecedent-contained deletion. Together, the outcome supports our claim that NA has verb-stranding VP ellipsis. The paper proposes an account of this construction and provides various arguments against the null object hypothesis.

| KEYWORDS
VP ellipsis, verb stranding, Arabic syntax, V-to-T movement, inflectional heads

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1. Introduction

Broadly speaking, ellipsis refers to linguistic structures in which material has gone missing. Different languages display different types of ellipsis, depending on the material that is omitted. In VP ellipsis, as in (1), the verb is deleted along with its complement:

(1) Jack made his bed, and Kate did [$_{VP}$ _____], too. (VP ellipsis)

In general, the VP ellipsis may be defined as the process of omitting the verb phrase, including the verb itself, its object, and its adjuncts, if there are any (Algryani, 2012).

Since Sag's (1976) foundational work, the VP ellipsis has received immense attention. In English, VP ellipsis is licensed by an overt auxiliary that occupies the T position and precedes the elided main verb and its arguments, as in (2):

(2) Sandy likes to play tennis, but Martha doesn't ~~like to play tennis~~.

However, the VP ellipsis is not a universal phenomenon. In Spanish (3), French (4), and Italian (5) respectively, the VP ellipsis is not licensed by auxiliaries, as is the case in English (Lobeck, 1995; Busquets, 2006; Dagnac, 2010):

(3) **Susana había leído Guerra y Paz pero Maria no había [e].*

Susana has read War and Peace but Maria not has

(López, 1999, p. 265)

(4) **Claudine est une bonne etudiante, et Marie est [e] aussi.*

Claudine is a good student and Mary is [e] too

(Lobeck, 1995, p. 142)

(5) **Tom ha visto a Lee ma Maria non ha ___.*

Tom has seen (to) Lee but Mary NEG has

(Dagnac, 2010, p. 157)

As shown in (3-5), the behaviour of VP ellipsis in these three languages differs from that of English. In verb-stranding VP ellipsis, the main verb is still overt, after raising to T, while its direct object is missing:

(6) *dúirt mé go gceannóinn é agus cheannaigh*. (Irish)

said I that buy it and bought

'I said I would buy it and I did.'

(Craenenbroeck & Merchant, 2013, p. 705)

The missing VP is called the elliptical clause, the remaining parts are called the remnants and the VP that determines the interpretation of the elided VP is called the antecedent VP (Ngonyani, 1996). Many languages allow V-to-T movement, which in turn licenses verb-stranding VP ellipsis.

In this paper, we investigate the phenomenon of verb-stranding VP ellipsis in Najdi Arabic (NA), a property that has not been examined before in this variety. Within the minimalist program (Chomsky, 1995, 1998), a special case which 'strands' the verb is addressed in this paper, namely the verb-stranding VP ellipsis. This kind of ellipsis has been assumed to require a movement of the main verb to a higher projection, T head (Otani & Whitman, 1991 on Japanese, Chinese and Korean; McCloskey, 1991 on Irish; Ngonyani, 1996 on Ndendeule and Swahili). One cross-linguistic property of verb-stranding VP ellipsis is the availability of V-to-T movement (Doron, 1983, 1999; Goldberg, 2005; Toosarvandani, 2009). Verb-stranding VP ellipsis is permitted in languages that allow V-to-T movement, such as Hebrew, Swahili, Irish, and others (Ngonyani, 1996; Doron, 1999; Craenenbroeck & Merchant, 2013). The Arabic language allows V-to-T movement, but in more restricted contexts (Ouhalla, 1994; Benmamoun, 2000; Aoun et al., 2010). While the V-to-T movement in Arabic is still controversial (Ouhalla, 1994; Benmamoun, 2000; Aoun et al., 2010; Algryani, 2012), we assume that such movement exists in NA and that verb-stranding VP ellipsis is indeed available.

The paper also examines the properties of verb-stranding VP ellipsis in NA. In addition, we argue against the null object analysis, which is one candidate proposed forward to reject the verb-stranding VP ellipsis classification (Ngonyani, 1996). Such a counter-analysis is not obtained because verb-stranding VP ellipsis allows both the sloppy and strict identity interpretations, while null objects only allow the strict one (Ngonyani, 1996; Doron, 1999), as will be shown below. Also, verb-stranding VP ellipsis involves the ellipsis of complements other than objects and DPs, while null objects do not. These pieces of evidence show further support for the availability of verb-stranding VP ellipsis in NA.

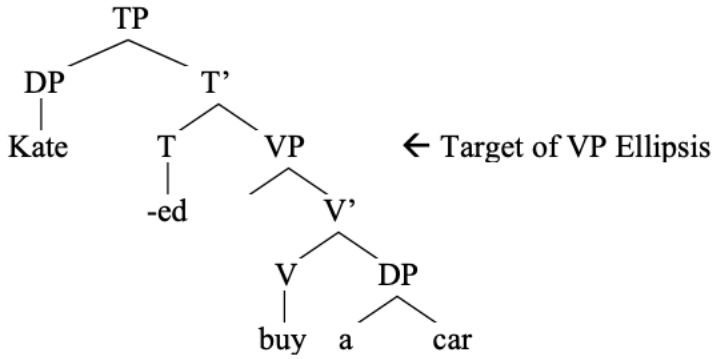
VP ellipsis is licensed when an overt finite auxiliary precedes the deleted lexical verb and its internal arguments, leaving the auxiliary behind. In English, for instance, it has been established that VP ellipsis is only licensed where T is filled with auxiliaries such as *have*, *be*, 'dummy' *do*, infinitive *to*, or a modal (Lobeck, 1995; Johnson, 2001, 2004; Agbayani & Zoerner, 2004). In (7), VP does not include tense, tense is a property of a projection outside the VP, namely T. Thus, tense is a remnant. The elliptical clause of example (7a) can be represented as in (8):

(7) a. Jack will buy a car, and Kate will [$_{VP}$ ~~buy a car~~] too.

b. Did Jack buy a car?

c. Yes, he did [$_{VP}$ ~~buy a car~~].

(8)



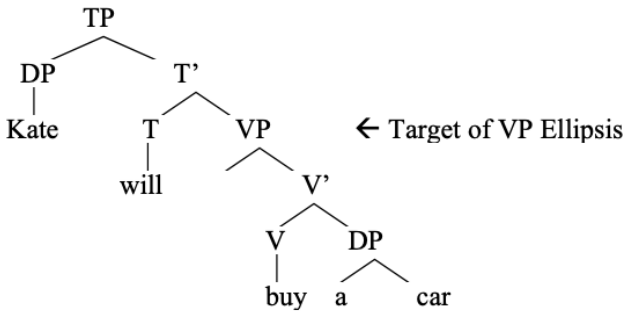
(See Ngonyani, 1996, p. 74)

The VP in (8) is missing since the VP ellipsis targets the VP. The subject and the auxiliary verb are the remnants since they are outside the VP, and as a result, they form an elliptical clause. However, tense is located outside the VP when the main V is inflected, as in (9):

(9) a. Jack bought a car.

b. and Kate did too.

(10)



(See Ngonyani, 1996, p. 74)

It is known that the VP ellipsis carries away the V to which the tense attaches. Therefore, VP ellipsis strands the tense morphology without a host. Then, the auxiliary verb *do* is placed to save the stranded tense. As a result, *did* is inserted in the elliptical clause.

2. Previous Studies

Typically, VP ellipsis indicates the omission of the main predicate of a clause along with its internal arguments:

(11) Noura is sleeping, and Sarah is _____ too.

(12) Noura will drink coffee, and Sarah will _____too.

These sentences, in (11) and (12), are interpreted as in (13) and (14):

(13) Noura is sleeping, and Sarah is <sleeping> too.

(14) Noura will drink coffee, and Sarah will <drink coffee> too.

Normally, VP ellipsis is licensed when an overt finite auxiliary precedes the deleted lexical verb and its internal arguments, leaving the auxiliary behind. In English, for instance, it has been confirmed that VP ellipsis is only licensed where T is filled with auxiliaries such as *have*, *be*, 'dummy' *do*, an infinitival marker *to*, or a modal (Lobeck, 1995; Johnson, 2001, 2004; Agbayani & Zoerner, 2004). However, this kind of VP ellipsis is not found cross-linguistically. In verb-stranding VP ellipsis, the main verb may raise to T while VP gets elided, as in Swahili:

(15) *Wa-geni wa-li-wek-a zawadi meza-ni na baba a-li-wek-a.*

2-guest SM2-PST-put-FV 10.gift table-LOC and father SM1-PST-put-FV

'The guests put the gifts on the table and father did too.'

(Ngonyani, 1996, p. 76)

Some languages allow for the main verb to be overtly raised out of the VP to T before the ellipsis occurs; this means that the verb is being 'stranded', hence the name verb-stranding VP ellipsis. Craenenbroeck and Merchant (2013) argue that ellipsis sites can be unearthed. This is so when ellipsis sites consist of an unpronounced but completely systematic syntactic representation. Head movement of the main verb out of the sites of the VP ellipsis results in a verb-stranding VP ellipsis. This is found in Irish, Hebrew, Portuguese, Galician, Russian, Swahili, and Ndenduele:

(16) a. *Q: Šalaxt etmol et ha-yeladim le-beit-ha-sefer?* (Hebrew)

send.2sg yesterday ACC the-children to-house-the-book
'Did you send the children to school yesterday?'
A: Šalaxti.
Send.1sg
'I did.'

b. *dúirt mé go gceannóinn é agus cheannaigh.* (Irish)

said I that buy it and bought
'I said I would buy it and I did.'

(Craenenbroeck & Merchant, 2013; p. 705)

Goldberg (2005) presents a crosslinguistic study focusing on verb-stranding VP ellipsis constructions. Verb-stranding VP ellipsis is licensed only in languages that permit V-to-T movement. In the following Hebrew example in (17), the direct object is deleted due to identity with its corresponding element in the antecedent clause, however, the verb remains overt:

(17) *Q: (ha'im) Tamar kanta kafe?*

Q Tamar bought.3SG.FEM coffee

'(Did) Tamar buy coffee?'

A: Ken, hi kanta.

yes, she bought.3SG.FEM

'Yes, she bought (~~coffee~~).'

(Goldberg, 2005, p. 36)

According to Goldberg's analysis, Hebrew allows V-to-T movement, thus the verb in (17) moves to T and survives ellipsis before the deletion of the internal arguments of the VP. This is found in languages such as Hebrew, Irish, and Swahili. Meanwhile; languages which lack V-to-T movement, such as English and Persian, do not permit verb-stranding VP ellipsis constructions. Goldberg (2005) shows how English disallows verb-stranding VP ellipsis, although it allows VP ellipsis where the entire VP is deleted, including the main verb, as shown in (18) below:

(18) Arthur [$_{VP}$ brought a present to Hall],

and Julia did [~~bring a present to Hall~~] too

*and Julia brought too; *and Julia will bring too.

(Goldberg, 2005, p. 1)

Doron (1999) presents some arguments supporting the V-to-T movement in Hebrew. One argument is based on the existence of subject-verb inversion in Hebrew:

(19) a. *et mi niSek dani etmol*

ACC whom kissed Dani yesterday
Whom did Dani kiss yesterday?
b. *Whom kissed Dani yesterday?
Whom did Dani kiss yesterday?

(Doron, 1999, p. 126)

Another argument is based on the adverb placement. Hebrew permits adverbs to intervene between the verb and the direct object, which is ungrammatical in English:

(20) a. *dani menaSek lif'amim et dina.*

Dani kisses sometimes ACC Dina
Dani sometimes kisses Dina
b. *John kisses sometimes Mary.

(Doron, 1999, p. 126)

Further argument concerns the placement of floating quantifiers to the right of the verb in Hebrew:

(21) a. *ha- yeladim niSku Sneyhem et dina.*

the children kissed both ACC Dina
The children both kissed Dina.
b. *The children kissed both Dina.

(Doron, 1999, p. 126)

As the ungrammatical example shows in (21b), main verbs do not overtly raise to T in English, only modals and auxiliaries do so. Doron (1999) presents data in Hebrew where the main verbs are realized in sentences where the entire VP is null, i.e., stranded:

(22) a. *Q: Salaxt etmol et ha- yeladim le- beit-ha-sefer*

Q: you-sent yesterday ACC the kids to school

Did you send the kids to school yesterday?

b. *A: Salaxti*

A: I-sent

I did.

(Doron, 1999, p. 129)

The VP in (22) is missing despite the appearance of the main verb.

2.1 Verb-stranding VP Ellipsis vs. Null-object

It is hard to distinguish verb-stranding VP ellipsis from null-objects. In both structures, the verb is overt but the object is missing. Doron (1999) argues in favour of the overt V-to-T movement in VP ellipsis in Hebrew where the main verb is stranded in the language. She distinguishes VP ellipsis from null objects by showing that the missing material is the object instead of the whole VP. She claims that VP ellipsis strands the verb where the main verb in the ellipsis construction is missing, and it does not display the VP ellipsis properties but rather those of bare argument ellipsis.

Following Otani and Whitman (1991), Doron (1999) also argues that verbal identity is not essential for VP ellipsis. She states that while VP ellipsis allows for the 'sloppy' identity of the object, null-object constructions only allow 'strict' identity:

(23) a. *Q: dina soreget et ha- svederim Se- hi loveset*

Q: Dina knits ACC the sweaters that she wears
Does Dina knit the sweaters that she wears?

b. *A: ken, aval ima Sela kona.*
A: yes, but mother hers buys
Yes, but her mother buys the sweaters she wears.

(Doron, 1999, p. 129)

The answer in (23b) is ambiguous between two readings: Dina's mother buys Dina's sweaters or her own. On the other hand, null objects only allow the strict reading for pronouns. In the following example, it is only the sweaters that Dina wears are involved:

(24) a. Q: dina soreget et ha- svederim Se- hi loveset

Q: Dina knits ACC the sweaters that she wears
Does Dina knit the sweaters that she wears?

b. *A: lo, ima Sela kona l-a.*

A: no, mother hers buys to-her

No, her mother buys Dina the sweaters that Dina wears.

(Doron, 1999, p. 130)

Doron (1999) claims that locality effects provide another criterion to distinguish VP ellipsis from null objects. According to Ross (1967), VP ellipsis is insensitive to constraints on movement. On the other hand, Huang (1984) assumes that null objects are constrained by conditions of movement. Certainly, a null object structure is ungrammatical when it is located within an island:

(25) a. *Q: saragt et ha- sveder ha-ze*

Q: you-knit ACC the sweater this

Did you knit this sweater?

b. *A: lo, hine ha- baxura Se- sarga.*
A: no, here the girl that knit
No, here is the girl who did.

c. *A: *lo, hine ha- baxura Se- sarga le- dani.*
A: no, here the girl that knit to- Dani
No, here is the girl who knit it for Dani.

(Doron, 1999, p. 131)

Huang (1984) proves that null objects are impossible to be located within islands. Since VP ellipsis is insensitive to constraints on movement, null objects are sensitive to such constraints.

Algryani (2012) examines verb-stranding VP ellipsis as a case of VP ellipsis in Libyan Arabic. He argues against analyzing verb-stranding VP ellipsis constructions as a type of VP ellipsis, although it is considered as such in Farsi (Toosarvandani, 2009), Hebrew (Doron, 1999; Goldberg, 2005), and Finnish (Holmberg, 2001). Algryani (2012) claims that it should rather be considered a null object or individual constituent drop. He presents two arguments supporting his claim. The first argument is that, unlike VP ellipsis, the assumed verb-stranding VP ellipsis is subject to definiteness constraints as in (26). The assumed verb-stranding VP ellipsis in LA is not grammatical when the object DP is definite in the antecedent VP:

(26) *Omar grē r-riwaya hedi, lakən Nadia*

Omar read.3MS the-novel this but Nadia

**ma-grət-š / ma-grət-ha-š.*

NEG-read.3FS-NEG NEG-read.3FS-it-NEG

'Omar read this novel, but Nadia didn't read it.'

(Algryani, 2012, p. 124)

The second argument is that the putative verb-stranding VP ellipsis is unlike VP ellipsis in terms of the deletion of *v*P-related material such as *v*P adverbs and locative and benefactive PPs. Algryani (2012) states that these materials cannot always be deleted as part of VP ellipsis, but can be deleted independently. Regarding *v*P adverbs, Algryani (2012) argues "In Libyan Arabic, the requirement on adverbial deletion does not hold as in VP ellipsis constructions [where the entire *v*P layer is elided]" (p. 125). The LA example in (27) illustrates that the ellipsis can only be interpreted as 'Ali doesn't speak Italian'. In contrast, an interpretation such as 'Ali doesn't speak Italian fluently' is implausible:

(27) *David yətkəllem l-italiya bi-talaqa, lakən Ali ma- yətkəllem-š.*

David speaks.3MS the-Italian with-fluency but Ali NEG-speaks.3MS-NEG

'David speaks Italian fluently, but Ali doesn't.'

(Algryani, 2012, p. 126)

Algryani (2012) supports his claim by stating that, unlike in VP ellipsis, the locative and benefactive PPs in (28) and (29), respectively, can be elided independently, not only as part of the VP. The elided *v*P in each structure in (28) and (29) carries two interpretations. In (28), it can be interpreted as 'Yasin didn't sleep on the couch' or as 'Yasin didn't sleep at all'. While in (29), the sentence can be interpreted as 'I bought a gift for Yasin' or 'I bought a gift'. This ambiguity of interpretation is evidence that verb-stranding does not behave like VP ellipsis:

(28) *anē rgədət ʕal s-salon, lakən Yasin ma-rgəd-š.*

I slept.1S on the-sofa but Yasin NEG slept.3MS-NEG

'I slept on the sofa, but Yasin didn't.'

(29) *Sara šrət hadiya l-Yasin w hetta anē šrēt.*

Sara bought.3FS gift to-Yasin and too I bought.1S

'Sara bought a gift for Yasin, and I did too.'

(Algryani, 2012, p. 125)

3. Verb-stranding VP Ellipsis in Najdi Arabic

McCloskey (1991) argues that VP ellipsis is found in languages other than English. Accordingly, in this section, constructions that involve VP ellipsis are presented to establish that this phenomenon is also found in NA. Although the surface level of the elliptical clauses might be distinct from that of English, this distinction can be reduced to an independent distinction with respect to the V position.

In this section, we first introduce elliptical constructions and contexts that appear to lack different verb complements while the verb is still overt (subsection 3.1). In subsection (3.2), we propose an analysis of verb-stranding VP ellipsis to account for the movement of V-to-T in NA. In (3.3), arguments of verb movement in NA are presented using multiple tests such as adverb placement, word order and subject-verb inversion. In (3.4), four properties are addressed to account for the verb-stranding VP ellipsis data in NA. These properties include the licensing by an inflectional head, insensitivity to syntactic islands, sloppy identity interpretation, and antecedent-contained deletion. Finally, in subsection (3.5), two arguments are raised to rule out the null object analysis by showing that verb-stranding VP ellipsis allows the sloppy interpretation, whereas, null objects only allow the strict one. Also, verb-stranding VP ellipsis involves an ellipsis of complements other than objects and DPs, while null objects do not.

1) 3.1 Facts on Ellipsis in NA

Several types of elliptical constructions might be available in NA. At the surface level, we find these elliptical constructions to lack verb complements. However, in this subsection, examples of elliptical constructions involving missing objects, locative, object and locative, and clausal complements are addressed. In declarative sentences that include transitive verbs, as shown in (30a), it is shown that the direct object is omitted from its conjunct (30b):

(30) a. *Noura ʃarat riwayat ruʕb* (NA)

Noura bought novel horror

'Noura bought a horror novel'

b. *w Sara ʃarat ~~riwayat ruʕb~~ baʕad.* (NA)

and Sara bought ~~novel horror~~ too

'and Sara did too/and Sara bought it too.'

This is a resemblance to Swahili where the direct object is elided:

(31) a. *mw-alimu a-li-nunu-a ki-tabu ch-a Chomsky*

1-teacher 1SA-PST-buy-FV 7-book 7-a Chomsky

'The teacher bought Chomsky's book'

b. *na wa-nafunzi wa-li-nunu-a ~~ki-tabu ch-a Chomsky~~ pia.*

and 2-student 2SA-PST-buy-FV ~~7-book 7-a Chomsky~~ too

'and the students did too/and students bought it too.'

(Ngonyani, 1996, p. 75)

In (32b), the direct object is elided in the second conjunct. This conjunct includes a double object verb with a deleted theme and location:

(32) a. *Aħmad lega hadiyah bəʃ-ʃanṭah* (NA)

Ahmad found gift in-the-bag

'Ahmad found a gift in the bag'

b. *w Noura legat ~~hadiyah bəʃ-ʃanṭah~~ baʕad.* (NA)

and Noura found ~~gift in the bag~~ too

'and Noura did too.'

Swahili also involves this kind of deleted conjunct:

(33) a. *wa-geni wa-li-wek-a zawadi meza-ni*

2-guest 2SA-PST-put-FV 10gift table-LOC

'the guests put the gifts on the table'

b. *na baba a-li-wek-a ~~zawadi mezani~~ pia.*

and father 1SA-PST-1OA-give-FV ~~10gift table LOC~~ too

'and father did too.'

(Ngonyani, 1996, p. 76)

Moreover, the deleted complement in (34b) is a locative goal, not an object:

(34) a. *al-walad məʃa:/jəmʃi: li-lmədrsah* (NA)

the-boy walked/walks to-the-school

'The boy walked/walks to school.'

b. *w al-ista:ð məʃa:/jəmʃi: ~~li-lmədrsah~~ baʕad.* (NA)

and the-teacher walked/walks ~~to-the-school~~ too

'and the teacher walked/walks to school too.'

A corresponding example is found in Swahili as well:

(35) a. *wa-zee wa-li-end-a m-ji-ni*

2-old 2SA-PST-go-FV 3-town-LOC

'the elders went to town'

b. *na vi-jana wa-li-end-a ~~m-ji-ni~~ pia.*

and 7-young 2SA-PST-go-FV ~~3-town-LOC~~ too

'and the youths did too.'

(Ngonyani, 1996, p. 76)

Another complement that can go missing is a clausal complement, as in (36):

(36)a. *al-umm baɣat/tabi: təʃtri: al-xubz kəllah* (NA)

the-mother wanted/wants buy the-bread all

'The mother wanted/wants to buy all the bread'

b. *w ana: bɣi:t/abi: ~~aʃtri: al-xubz kəllah~~ baʕad.* (NA)

and I wanted/want ~~buy the-bread all~~ too

'and I wanted / want too.'

An example from Swahili also shows that clausal complements can go missing in the language:

(37) a. *m-kurugenzi a-li-tak-a ku-tembele-a ki-wanda ch-ote*

1-director 1-PST-want-FV INF-visit-FV 7-factory 7-all

'The director wanted to visit the entire factory'

b. *na wa-kuu wa idara wa-li-tak-a ~~ku-tembele-a ki-wanda~~*

and 2-boss of 9department 2SA-PST-want-FV ~~INF-walk-APP-7-plant~~

~~*ch-ote*~~ *pia.*

~~7-all~~ too

'and heads of department did too.'

(Ngonyani, 1996, p. 76)

As these examples show coordinated structures, however, it is not the sole context where elliptical constructions occur. They can be found in subordinate constructions as well:

(38) a. *iða: bət-ta:biʕ haða: al-film, ana: bta:biʕ ~~haða:~~* (NA)

if will-you-watch this movie I will-watch this

~~*al-film*~~ *baʕad.*

movie too

'If you will watch this movie, I will too.'

b. *zərt kəl al-ama:kən illi: ant zərt.* (NA)

I-visited all the-places that you visited

'I visited all the places that you visited.'

In (38a), the missing part is a complement of the if-clause, while in (38b), it is an example of antecedent-contained deletion. The deletion of these two types of complements, namely if-clause and antecedent contained deletion, are found in Swahili, as in (39):

(39) a. *kama mw-alimu a-ta-nunu-a ki-tabu ki-le, na-mi ni-ta-nunu-a*

if 1-teacher 1SA-FUT-buy-FV 7-book 7-that, and-me I-FUT-buy-FV

--- *pia.*

too

'If the teacher will buy that book, I will too.'

b. *ni-li-som-a vi-tabu vy-ote amba-vyo mw-alimu a-li-som-a.*

I-PST-read-FV 8-book 7-all REL-8 1-teacher 1SA-PST-read-FV

'I read all the books that the teacher read.'

(Ngonyani, 1996, p. 77)

In this subsection, different contexts have been presented in which the elliptical constructions are indeed available in NA. These constructions involve missing object, locative, object and locative, and clausal complement. To sum up, in all of the elliptical constructions shown above, some parts of the VP have gone missing. Yet, the inflected verb is overt in all of them. This type of ellipsis is not restricted to coordinate structures only.

2) 3.2 Verb-stranding VP Ellipsis Analysis

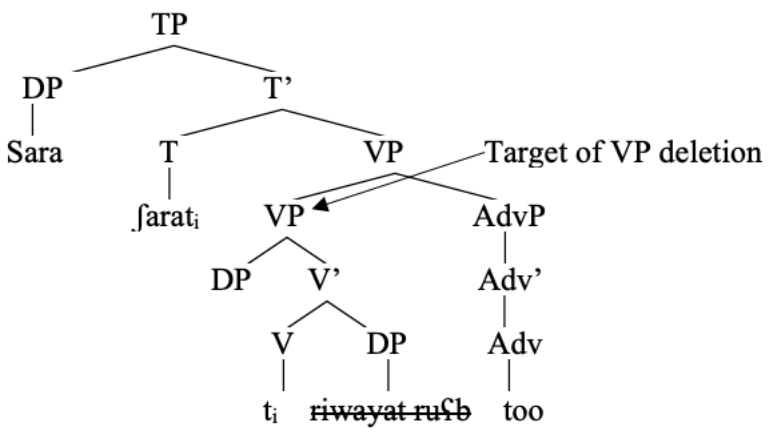
There might be some resemblance regarding VP ellipsis between the English contexts and the contexts where VP ellipsis occurs in NA. Following McCloskey's (1991) and Ngonyani's (1996) analysis, we argue that NA involves V movement out of the VP to T to account for the overt V in the elliptical structures (Ouhalla, 1994; Benmamoun, 2000; Aoun et al., 2010). We thus propose the analysis presented in (40b) to data such as (40a), repeated from (30b) above:

(40) a. *w Sara ʃarat ~~riwayat ruʕb~~ baʕad.* (NA)

and Sara bought ~~novel horror~~ too

'and Sara did too/and Sara bought it too.'

b.



Consequently, this analysis shows that the direct object is not spelled-out. Thus, only the main V remains overt as a result of raising to T and the ellipsis target VP. Arguments for this analysis and verb-stranding VP in NA are discussed in the remainder of this paper.

3) 3.3 A Diagnostic of V-movement in Najdi Arabic

Recent studies have shown that the overt V-to-T movement is found in many languages such as Semitic, Celtic, Romance, the Balkan languages, Chinese, Japanese, Korean, and others (Doron, 1999). Several Arabic syntacticians have studied verb movement in Arabic and come up with different perspectives (Aoun et al., 2010; Benmamoun, 2000; Ouhalla, 1994). In Aoun et al. (2010), it is argued that present tense sentences block the movement of the verb to the tense head. In contrast, past tense sentences require the movement of the V to T. In this paper, we present arguments that support the movement of the past as well as the present verbs to T in NA. Many linguists have resorted to VP ellipsis as a diagnostic for V raising in different languages (see Otani and Whitman, 1991, on Japanese, Chinese and Korean & McCloskey, 1991, on Irish). What we need here is to show that NA allows the overt raising of V to T, a higher functional projection, as a requirement for verb-stranding VP ellipsis. The main verb is said to be stranded when it is realized in a sentence where the whole VP is null.

3.3.1 Adverb Placement

Evidence for obligatory V-raising comes from Pollock's seminal work (1989) from the placement of manner adverbials. The V-raising proposals based on this diagnostic have been put forth in Hebrew, a Semitic language as Arabic is (see Doron, 1983, 1990, 1999; Shlonsky, 1987, 1991; and Goldberg, 2005). Similarly, we present evidence to support V-movement in NA by discussing three adverbs. The adverbs are *bsarʕh* (quickly), *ʔms* (yesterday) and *b-bsaṭah* (simply) denoting manner, time and degree, respectively. All these adverbs can intervene between the verb and the object, as in the following examples:

(41) a. *Noura dxalat bsarʕh al-bait.* (NA)

Noura entered quickly the-house

'Noura entered the house quickly.'

b. *kallamu: ʔms al-mudi:r.* (NA)

called-they yesterday the-principal

'They called the principal yesterday.'

c. *Aħmad jaktəb b-bsaṭah al-a:jah.* (NA)

Ahmad writes simply the-verse

'Ahmad writes the verse simply.'

As these examples show, these adverbs can grammatically occur between the verb and the object, VP initial. Their distribution can be represented as follows:

(42) [[DP] [V_i [Adv [$_{VP}$ t_i DP]]]].

This relationship between the head of the VP and the object, intervened by the adverb, is a result of the movement of the main V to a higher projection than the adverb, which is T. This is evidence that the verb is outside the VP.

3.3.2 Word Order in NA

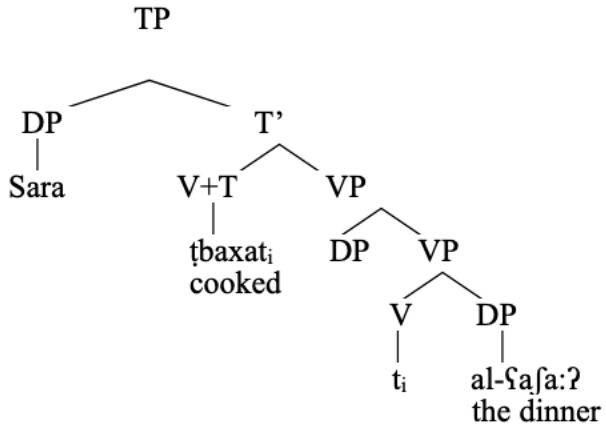
The word order in NA is similar to the word order in English where both languages allow the SVO word order. In (43b), the structure shows the SV order that illustrates the movement of the subject from the specifier of VP to the specifier of TP. On the other hand, NA allows a VS word order where the subject remains as the specifier of VP, as shown in (43c):

(43) a. Sara ṭbaxat al-ʕaʃa:ʔ (NA)

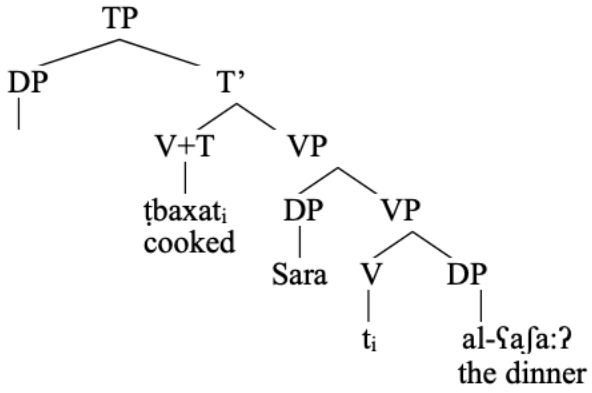
Sara cooked the-dinner

'Sara cooked the dinner.'

b.



c.



In the VS word order, the verb moves to T and the subject remains in its position, inside the VP.

The subject *Sara* in (43c) is being inside the VP as a specifier of this projection. While the verb has moved to T, leaving outside the VP.

3.3.3 Subject-Verb Inversion

The subject-verb inversion is an argument raised by Doron (1999) for the V-to-T movement in Hebrew:

(44) *et mi niSek dani etmol*

ACC whom kissed Dani yesterday

'Whom did Dani kiss yesterday?'

(Doron, 1999, p. 126)

This kind of inversion is similar to the inversion found in the subject-aux inversion in English. A similar fact is also obtained in NA. Examine the following examples:

(45) a. *wəʃ ṭbaxat Sara ʔms?* (NA)

what cooked Sara yesterday

'What did Sara cook yesterday?'

b. *??/* wəʃ Sara ṭbaxat ʔms?* (NA)

what Sara cooked yesterday

'What did Sara cook yesterday?'

c. *What cooked Sara yesterday?

What did Sara cook yesterday?

In (45a), the sentence is acceptable after applying the subject-verb inversion in wh-question contexts. On the other hand, the sentence in (45b) is either marginal or unacceptable, which argues that subject-verb inversion is a requirement in NA wh-question. This further argues that V-to-T movement in NA is available as V further moves to C in interrogative constructions. As mentioned earlier, it is shown that main verbs in English, as in (45c), do not overtly raise to T and then C, but only modals and auxiliaries do so. Therefore, the V remains inside the VP in English, unlike NA, where the V overtly raises to T.

To sum up, data that have been presented relating adverbs, word order and subject-verb inversion argue that V raising exists in NA. The appearance of the adverbs after the verb is a solid argument for such movement. Moreover, NA accepts the raising of the verb to a higher projection in the VS order, while the subject remains as a specifier of the VP. It has also been shown that NA accepts the subject-verb inversion and might also require it. A sentence, where subject-verb inversion is not used, is degraded. The fact that V raising is established in NA support the availability of VP ellipsis in NA; a precondition for the case of VP ellipsis.

4) 3.4 Properties of VP Ellipsis

Here, we argue that the difference between languages such as English and NA, regarding VP ellipsis, lies in the Spell-Out position of the verb;whether the verb is spelt out inside or outside the VP projection. Four diagnostics suggested by McCloskey (1991) and Ngonyani (1996) are considered characteristics of the English VP ellipsis and will further be examined in NA.

3.4.1 Licensing by an Inflectional Head

The first diagnostic is that VP ellipsis is only licensed by an inflectional head, which has been shown for English VP ellipsis. This suggests that V-raising languages, such as NA, can also meet such a requirement. The licensing inflectional head is not limited to an auxiliary V, as is the case in English, the raised main V of V-raising languages may occupy the same licensing function (see Goldberg, 2005). In (46b) and (47b), the main verbs are tense-inflected heads:

(46) a. *Noura ʃarat kita:b* (NA)

Noura bought book

'Noura bought a book'

b. *w Sara ʃarat ~~kita:b~~ baʕad.* (NA)

and Sara bought book too

'and Sara did too.'

(47) a. *Aħmad jaɣssəl al-sajjarah* (NA)

Ahmad washing the-car

'Ahmad is washing the car.'

b. *w Mħammad jaɣssəl ~~al-sajjarah~~ baʕad.* (NA)

and Mohammad washing the-car too

'and Mohammad is too.'

As auxiliaries bear the tense in English, the head or the main verb in NA is inflected for tense and aspect (see Aoun et al. 2010 for further discussion). After raising the main verb to a higher projection, tense is realized on the verb. It can be seen in these examples that the verb still exists even after the deletion of everything follows it in the second conjunct.

3.4.2 Insensitivity to Syntactic Islands

The second property of VP ellipsis is the insensitivity of VP ellipsis to syntactic islands. Although the antecedent is not within a syntactic island, the elliptical structure might be part of an island. The following English example in (48) shows the elided VP is part of a wh-island (see Ngonyani, 1996):

(48) She said she will steal the letter and I know why she would _____.

(Ngonyani, 1996, p. 83)

This can also be found in NA as shown below:

(49) a. *al-ħara:mi: ga:l innah b-jədxəl al-bait* (NA)

the-thief said that-he will-enter the-house

'The thief said that he will enter the house'

b. *w aʃ-ʃərṭah taʕrəf li:ʃ b-jədxəl.* (NA)

and the-police knows for-what will-he-enter

'and the police knows why he will.'

The object in (49b) is absent in the wh-clause because it has been elided in the VP ellipsis. This immunity to syntactic islands is a formal characteristic of the standard VP ellipsis in English. This implies that the ellipsis site might be inside a syntactic island that does not contain the antecedent material (McCloskey, 1991).

3.4.3 Sloppy Identity Interpretation

Another property of VP ellipsis is the ambiguity that arises between the strict interpretation and the sloppy interpretation of a pronoun in the elided complement. Consider the following example in English:

(50) Jack drove his car, and Sam did too.

The elliptical clause in (50) has two possible interpretations. One is that *Sam drove Jack's car* (strict interpretation), and another is that *Sam drove Sam's car* (sloppy interpretation). The pronoun *his* in the sloppy interpretation is bound by *Sam,* a part of the deleted VP. A parallel example can also be found in NA:

(51)a. *Sara gṭaʕat ʃədʒ***rha:** (NA)

Sara cut trees-her

'Sara cut her trees'

b. *w Noura gṭaʕat baʕad.* (NA)

and Noura cut too

= and Noura cut Sara's trees too (Strict interpretation)

= and Noura cut Noura's trees too (Sloppy interpretation)

The conjunct in (51b) involves the elliptical clause. The possessive pronoun *her*, in the deleted part, could be bound by *Sara*, or by *Noura*. To put it another way, it could be that *Noura cut Sara's trees* or *Noura cut Noura's trees*, her own trees. The fact that the sloppy identity arises in NA supports the case of VP ellipsis.

3.4.4 Antecedent-contained Deletion

The final property of VP ellipsis, according to McCloskey (1991) and Ngonyani (1996), is the antecedent-contained deletion. The elided VP can be inside another VP. The elided VP in (52) is contained within the antecedent VP:

(52)Jack [$_{VP2}$ read every book [$_{CP}$ that [Sam did [$_{VP1}$ ____]]]].

As shown in (52), VP_1 is contained within VP_2, which is the antecedent of VP_1. Similarly, this is found in NA:

(53)a. *gri:t* [$_{VP}$ t_i *kəl* *al-kutub* (NA)

I-read every books

'I read every book'

b. [$_{CP}$ *illi:* *anti:* *gariti:* [$_{VP}$ _____]]. (NA)

that you read

'that you did.'

Summing up, four properties have been examined to support the argument that VP ellipsis is found in NA. These properties are proposed by McCloskey (1991) for English and Irish. Ngonyani (1996) has extended the same properties to Ndendeule and Swahili, languages where the main verb moves out of the VP, similar to NA. After showing that NA also fits into such paradigmatic properties, it is to be argued that NA, a language that allows the V-to-T movement, also permits VP ellipsis. These properties, shown in NA, are the insensitivity of VP ellipsis to syntactic islands, the elided VP must be governed by an inflected head, the availability of the sloppy interpretation, and antecedent-contained deletion.

5) 3.5 Verb-stranding VP Ellipsis vs. Null-object

Generally, different analyses could be proposed to rule out the VP ellipsis classification. The null object is the most plausible candidate to alternatively analyze structures that contain missing objects instead of VP ellipsis analysis. However, in this subsection, two arguments are presented to rule out the null-object analysis for NA. These arguments are the availability of sloppy identity interpretation and the deletion of complements other than objects and DPs.

3.5.1 Availability of the Sloppy Identity Interpretation

One of the most known characteristics of VP ellipsis is the availability of sloppy interpretation. This has been found in English, Irish (McCloskey, 1991), Japanese, Chinese, and Korean (Otani & Whitman, 1991). This property is used to rule out the null-object analysis. Although it has already been discussed in this paper, here we show the contrast between the null-objects interpretation and the sloppy interpretation of VP ellipsis, as in the following examples:

(54)a. *Noura* *təsgi:* *ʃdʒərtha:* (NA)

Noura waters tree-her

'Noura waters her tree'

b. *w* *Sara* *təsgi:* *baʕad.* (NA)

and Sara waters too

'and Sara does too'

= Sara waters Noura's tree (Strict interpretation)

= Sara waters Sara's tree (Sloppy interpretation)

(55)a. *Noura təsgi: ʃdʒ***ərtha:** (NA)

Noura waters tree-her

'Noura waters her tree'

b. *w Sara təsgi:ha: baʕad.* (NA)

and Sara waters-it too

'and Sara does too'

= Sara waters Noura's tree (Strict interpretation)

= #Sara waters Sara's tree (Sloppy interpretation)

The sloppy interpretation is not available for clitic pronouns. Thus, this contrast explains that the cliticized object is not compatible with the sloppy interpretation (55b), meanwhile, the VP ellipsis is consistent with such reading (54). The sloppy and strict readings have been examined by Doron (1999) to eliminate the null-object analysis in Hebrew, which only allows a strict reading for pronouns:

(56)a. *Q: dina soreget et ha- svederim Se- hi loveSet*

Q: Dina knits ACC the sweaters that she wears

Does Dina knit the sweaters that she wears?

b. *A: lo, ima Sela kona l-a*

A: no, mother hers buys to-her

No, her mother buys Dina the sweaters that Dina wears.

(Doron, 1999, p. 130)

The only sweaters involved in (56) are Dina's sweaters. This straightforward interpretation is what distinguishes verb-stranding VP ellipsis from null objects. Since the former allows the strict as well as the sloppy interpretations, while the latter only allows the strict interpretation.

3.5.2 The Deletion of Complements other than Objects

The other argument to exclude the null-object analysis is that the missing elements in the VP ellipsis are not restricted to objects or DPs:

(57)a. *al-ʔbu: ra:ħ li-lmazraʕah* (NA)

the-father went to-the-farm

'The father went to the farm'

b. *w al-ʕja:l ra:ħu: baʕad.* (NA)

and the-boys went too

'and the boys did too'

c. *w *al-ʕja:l* *ra:ħaw-ah* *baʕad.* (NA)

and the-boys went-it too

'and the boys did too'. (Intended reading)

As shown in (57b), there is no null pronoun in the second conjunct to posit for the locative complement, this is because the complement is not an object, but a PP. Adopting the null object analysis for the sentence in (57) will result in an ungrammaticality, as in (57c).

In this subsection, two arguments have been proposed to rule out the null-object analysis for the missing object constructions. First, it has been shown that the sloppy interpretation is a major characteristic of VP ellipsis in different languages such as English, Irish, Portuguese, Japanese, Chinese, and Korean, which is also established in the VP ellipsis case of NA. Second, the deletion of elements in VP ellipsis is not limited to objects. Thus, analyzing this case as a VP ellipsis, which involves V raising, meets these requirements impeccably.

4. Conclusion

Verb-stranding VP ellipsis in NA is investigated in this paper. This kind of ellipsis involves the movement of the main verb to T. Although the existence of the V-to-T movement in Arabic has been controversial, such movement is found in NA. Thus, verb-stranding VP ellipsis, a case that requires the movement of V to T, is available in NA.. The properties of this ellipsis have been presented to support the availability of verb-stranding VP ellipsis in NA. The situation regarding the VP ellipsis contexts in English and NA might be similar. This similarity concerns the position of the main verb, whether the verb is inside or outside the VP projection. Thus, an analysis has been presented that shows that NA involves V movement out of the VP to T to account for the overt V in the elliptical structures, i.e., the verb is outside the VP. This paper concludes by rejecting the null object analysis, an analysis that might be proposed as alternative to the verb-stranding VP ellipsis classification. Such classification is, however, supported by presenting evidence that verb-stranding VP ellipsis allows both sloppy and strict interpretations, while null objects only allow the strict one. Further evidence is that verb-stranding VP ellipsis involves the ellipsis of complements other than objects and DPs, while null objects do not. All of the above argue for the availability of verb-stranding VP ellipsis in NA

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